

of State agencies in the various programs in the bill; it did not give any State or local official any power or responsibility of his own. Despite this, the majority crushed this Republican proposal by a straight party-line vote. The administration has determined, apparently, that Federal intrusion into State and local matters must be complete and untrammelled where the political and sociological imperatives of the war on poverty are involved.

#### A FEW OF THE "SLEEPERS" IN THE BILL

The Landrum-Powell poverty package is a hastily conceived and poorly planned collection of programs having little or no logical connection with each other. It should not be surprising, therefore, that in addition to its most blatant and highly publicized defects, it contains a number of hidden but no less significant elements.

A statement of Mr. Donald B. Straus, the chairman of an organization called Planned Parenthood World Population, which was submitted to this committee, illustrates one of these hidden problems. Mr. Straus' organization feels very strongly that any anti-poverty program worthy of the name should promote and assist programs of birth control. He argues "that neither a 'basic knowledge of the facts' nor of the 'real causes of poverty' can ignore the grave problem of the gap between children wanted and children born. This gap can only be closed when public health and welfare agencies make available to low-income Americans the same effective voluntary family planning techniques that are now available to—and extensively used by—the rest of the Nation."

No less an authority than Mr. Sargent Shriver himself admitted, in testimony to the House Committee on Education and Labor, that if a birth control project was included within a community action program that was otherwise qualified, he would approve it. Without arguing the merits or demerits of birth control programs, we submit that the fact that such projects could be aided or promoted by the Federal Government regardless of local mores or feelings pinpoints the basic danger inherent in this bill.

Another sensitive problem which has arisen because of the all-encompassing nature of this legislation is the legal and political controversy over Federal aid to church-related activities. The bill which the committee originally began work on permitted the Director to provide assistance to church-related facilities under the work-study and work-training programs of title I so long as they were not to be used solely for religious activities. The majority of the committee promptly voted to amend these provisions by striking out the word "solely." The net effect of this amendment would have been to prevent a local church-related organization or parochial school from receiving aid to assist the poor.

In one of the few attempts to improve this bill that was permitted to succeed by the majority, Senator GOLDWATER moved to correct this inequitable situation. His amendment limited the prohibition against aid to church-related institutions or activities to "so much of . . . any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship."

The Goldwater amendment would now permit the nonreligious portions of church-owned or supported buildings and other facilities to be used as a part of the anti-poverty program. Direct aid to churches is, in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the Constitution, still prohibited.

#### CONCLUSION

It has been suggested, by some of the more demagogic supporters of the committee bill, that those who oppose it are in favor of perpetuating poverty. This, of course, is ar-

rant nonsense; it does, however, illustrate the political and emotional aura surrounding the poverty war.

The Johnson administration's ruthless campaign in behalf of this legislation will not work. We will not be silenced by these intolerant appeals and easy answers to complex and difficult problems. We oppose this poorly constructed and misbegotten legislation.

We fully agree with the criticism of the administration program set forth in the platform adopted by the Republican Party at its recent presidential convention in San Francisco:

"The administration has proposed a so-called war on poverty which characteristically overlaps, and often contradicts, the 42 existing Federal poverty programs. It would dangerously centralize Federal controls and bypass effective State, local, and private programs."

The views we have outlined here do not begin to deal with all of the varied aspects of the bill. We have attempted, however, to uncover and discuss a few of the poverty war's most glaring defects; defects which render the entire program unacceptable. Our counterparts on the House Education and Labor Committee have written a comprehensive set of minority views on the companion to S. 2642, the Landrum-Powell bill; we urge that this excellent document be read in conjunction with the views expressed here.

This bill does not address itself to the primary cause of poverty. It does nothing to provide our poorer citizens with the skills necessary to gain regular employment in this modern age. Instead, it resurrects the tired slogans and applies the ineffectual poultices of a bygone era.

We urge the Congress to address itself to the actual world of the 1960's. We suggest that it begin this task by rejecting the program embodied in the committee bill and all similarly worthless and misleading approaches to the problems of poverty.

BARRY GOLDWATER.  
JOHN G. TOWNE.

#### THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a column published in the Milwaukee Sentinel of August 12, 1964, by the distinguished columnist, Walter Lippmann, entitled "United States Is Protector of West," may be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES IS PROTECTOR OF WEST—MUST AVOID BEING TIED DOWN IN ASIAN WAR  
(By Walter Lippman)

There is serious fighting in three widely separated places—in southeast Asia, in Cyprus, and in the Congo—and in different degrees we are much involved in all of them. Our Armed Forces are directly involved in southeast Asia. In Cyprus, our diplomacy is deeply involved. In the Congo, we are much concerned though, fortunately, we are not now involved at firsthand.

The common factor in all three situations is that they are the aftermath of the breakdown of the old imperial systems—the French system in Indochina, the British system in the eastern Mediterranean, and the Belgian system in central Africa. Without even intending it, indeed, while wishing it had not happened, the United States has been sucked into all three situations.

The end of the empires has left a vacuum of power which the liberated peoples have not yet mustered the strength or found the

political maturity to fill without foreign aid. The cold war is in large part a conflict about whether the vacuum shall be filled by Moscow or Peiping or Washington.

There is no certainty that there will not be other theaters of disorder in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Indeed, the chances are that there will be others. Wherever and whenever a new theater of disorder appears, whenever there is a new revolutionary civil war, there will be a powerful suction pulling the United States to intervention and there will be powerful pressures here at home to push us to intervention.

As the United States comes near to having a monopoly of the disposable military power in the Western World, we cannot afford to become totally engaged in any one theater or to commit all our reserves in one place. For that reason our intervention, when it cannot be avoided, must be limited, measured, and always directed to a political solution rather than to a military victory and unconditional surrender.

Thus, it is a vital American interest to safeguard its strategic mobility. We could lose our mobility if we become hugely committed in one theater, and let ourselves become engaged in a total war, say on a long land frontier in south Asia. If ever, even for the noblest ideological reasons, we let ourselves be entrapped in such a war, our position in the world as protector of the interests of the West would be gravely shaken.

We are very powerful. But we are not so powerful that we can commit all our reserves. The role which we have to play in this period of history cannot be sustained if we do not use a shrewd and prudent diplomacy to economize the use of military force.

In applying these principles to southeast Asia we have to remember that the only great military force China possesses is her enormous army, and that in a serious conflict she would be bound to use it by attacking adjacent countries which we have promised to defend. It would be wishful thinking to suppose that China, though it can be hurt fearfully, is entirely helpless. And here at home we must not therefore ask American soldiers to fight an impossible war. We must make our readiness to negotiate an accommodation as credible as we make our readiness to retaliate against aggression.

Everyone realizes that if, notwithstanding NATO and the U.N. and our own diplomacy, Greece and Turkey go to war, the western alliance will be deeply shaken. As the United States has the only mobile reserve force in the eastern Mediterranean, American responsibility for maintaining a balance of power in Europe will be increased.

Since we are carrying virtually the whole burden of maintaining a balance of power in Asia, we cannot afford lavishly to overcommit ourselves by signing blank checks on our military power. We have signed too many of them already.

#### SALUTE TO IDAHO'S NATIONAL REACTOR TESTING STATION

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, in its 15 years of operation, the Idaho National Reactor Testing Station has provided the Nation and the world with a full lifetime of progress in atomic achievements.

The success of the NRTS marks the first wedding of the lands of Idaho to the work of the air, space, and atomic age, the initial step in utilizing southeastern Idaho's amazing contrasts in physiography and abundant natural resources for new eras of progress for the State, the Nation, the world, and even outer space itself.

Total NRTS plant investment now approaches \$500 million and southeastern Idaho communities and people have themselves invested an additional \$100 million in site support facilities. In a recent address in Idaho Falls, Atomic Energy Commissioner James T. Ramey stated:

One of the major reasons our program has flourished here is because the communities in this area, and the State, have withstood the impact, solved the problems, and continue to offer a base for our reactor test facilities.

No one resides at the NRTS. The approximately 5,000 permanent and temporary workers connected with the NRTS reside in some 30 communities adjacent to the testing station, the majority in Idaho Falls.

Southeastern Idaho communities have dedicated themselves to continued cooperation in partnerships with the Federal Government, the State, the various private industry contractors, and the thousands of fine Idaho citizens in continuing efforts to utilize this outstanding and unique scientific laboratory for the advancement of human knowledge.

I wish to acknowledge on the occasion of the NRTS 15th anniversary the continuing efforts and interest of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, the Atomic Energy Commission, the excellent NRTS contractors and subcontractors who have been and continue to be an important part of our communities, the State and local governmental units, the civic organizations, the dedicated employees of NRTS, and the people of southeastern Idaho who responded so ably and well to the challenge with direct and responsive action.

Mr. President, I look forward to the coming years with great anticipation and expectations that NRTS will indeed be an important bridge to the future scientifically and economically. It is our hope that private industry particularly will become even better acquainted with the NRTS and its opportunities and that their increased participation our communities, our area, our Nation, and the world will be the beneficiaries in the years yet to come.

The National Reactor Testing Station of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission is a complex of facilities for nuclear reactor development distributed over 894 square miles of public domain and acquired land in southeastern Idaho. Its primary mission: to develop economic nuclear power and other peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The NRTS has more experimental reactors of more advanced and different types than in any equivalent area anywhere—a total of 37 to date, including research, testing, power, and propulsion. Working around the clock to operate them, in partnership with the AEC, are six major concerns: Aerojet-General Corp., Argonne National Laboratory, General Atomic, General Electric Co., Phillips Petroleum Co., and Westinghouse Electric Corp.

The NRTS was located where it is for strategic reasons, foremost being an abundant supply of pure water and a

vast expanse of vacant land bordered by a large number of communities with the right growth potential to absorb a permanent staff now approaching 5,000.

The experience of 15 years with a program expanding far beyond original calculations has vindicated the site choice in all respects.

Every atomic reactor built, building, and planned in the world today is directly or indirectly indebted to the test reactor area of the National Reactor Testing Station. This applies more specifically to the internationally known materials testing reactor which since 1952 has tested all sorts of materials with its thermal power of 40 million watts and 100 million million bombarding neutrons per second per square inch. The MTR's primary role of testing—to find out in weeks or months—rather than years of normal use—how the materials of reactor construction and operation will behave—has been augmented by extensive research and development work in reactor physics and engineering. Meantime, the 175-million-watt engineering test reactor has been operating since 1957 with even higher temperatures, pressures, and neutron fluxes. Now, a still larger plan, the 250-million-watt advanced test reactor, expected to start up in 1965, has become necessary to keep pace with fast-moving reactor technology.

#### ALIBATES NATIONAL MONUMENT BILL ENDORSED BY AMARILLO DAILY NEWS

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, more and more favorable comments are appearing in the press on my proposal (S. 1348) to establish a national monument at the Alibates Flint Quarries, near Amarillo, Tex.

These flint quarries represent the oldest known industry in our continent. Their importance in the prehistory of America was well stated in an editorial published recently in the Amarillo Daily News.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial, entitled "The 88th Congress Should Pass Act To Preserve Alibates Quarries," from the July 23 issue of the Amarillo Daily News be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

#### THE 88TH CONGRESS SHOULD PASS ACT TO PRESERVE ALIBATES QUARRIES

A sense of expediency is beginning to clutch at the hearts of the Texas backers for preservation of the famed Alibates flint quarries here in the panhandle.

Although Henry Hertzner, Amarillo businessman and former city commissioner, has furnished a continuing leadership, support of the project has come from scientific and historically oriented groups and individuals throughout the Nation.

The Corpus Christi Caller recently voiced the concern of all Texans over the destruction of the ancient quarries. It said:

What was the earliest and longest lived industry ever developed on the North American Continent? Your guess would probably be wrong. The answer is: The Alibates flint quarries 35 miles north of Amarillo which

for some 12,000 years supplied prime material for tools and weapons for prehistoric man in the Southwest and on the Great Plains.

The mile-long string of some 550 quarries and workshop areas and trade center of Ice Age, Stone Age, and later pueblo cultures is the outstanding archaeological site of its type so far discovered in the United States.

Alibates artifacts dating back beyond 10,000 B.C. have been traced as far north as Minnesota and as far west as the Pacific coast. And artifacts from other Amerind cultures traded for the prized varicolored flint are believed to be in far greater quantity in the quarry area than excavations have yet indicated.

The Alibates complex is still fortunately in almost pristine condition, but time for its preservation is running out. Completion of the Sanford Dam on the Canadian next year, with reservoir, recreation facilities, will bring the general public into the area in droves to trample over fragile ruins and haul off relics and souvenirs with no thought of their scientific value.

There are bills pending in Congress by Senator RALPH YARBOROUGH and Representative WALTER ROGERS to make the Alibates Flint Quarries a national monument. A convincing case for that action has been prepared by the Potter County Historical Survey Committee and Panhandle Geological Society.

The Nation's leading anthropologists and museum curators have attested to the site's worthiness of that status. And it has been favored in resolutions by various Texas societies, the Texas Legislature, and Governor John Connally.

Time is short before congressional adjournment, and if the Alibates National Monuments bills are not passed during this session, action on them will have to be started all over again in the new Congress.

Texas should urge their congressional delegation to make a special effort to get this valuable conservation measure through as soon as possible.

#### GUADALUPE MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK BILL URGENTLY NEEDED

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, as the author of Senate bill 2296, to preserve 77,000 acres in the Guadalupe Mountains of Texas as a national park, I was particularly interested in an article captioned "Texas' Spectacular Guadalupe," published in the August edition of Holiday Inn magazine.

The article describes the majesty and beauty of this area, which would enhance the national park complex that includes the Big Bend National Park, in Texas, and the Carlsbad Caverns, in New Mexico.

The Guadalupe park site includes Guadalupe Peak, the highest point in Texas. Enactment of this bill would be in keeping with the spirit of the 87th Congress, which has established a record as the "Conservation Congress" by the enactment of legislation for Padre Island, Cape Cod, and Point Reyes National Seashore Recreational Areas, in Texas, Massachusetts, and California.

I ask unanimous consent that the magazine article on the Guadalupe Mountains be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows: